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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. BHUTTO (Pakistan): Mr. President, it is my privilege to convey to you the warmest congratulations of the delegation of Pakistan on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Beyond the formal ties of diplomatic relations between your great country and mine lie the intangible bonds of shared attitudes and aspirations which constitute a firm basis of friendship between Pakistan and Venezuela and the vast continent to which your country belongs. I am confident that under your wise and skilful guidance this Assembly, which is meeting in a time of hope and expectation, will advance mankind toward the fulfilment of the ideals for which this Organization was established. These ideals revolve around one central purpose: the attainment and preservation of world peace.

2. Peace alone can ensure human survival and progress. Such peace as the world enjoys today is precarious and uncertain, maintained only by the knowledge that nuclear war will end not in victory but in mutual annihilation. Yet the great Powers hold in readiness immense stores of weapons and engines of destruction which serve only to increase tension and mutual suspicion. The first necessity, therefore, is to put an immediate end to this dangerous and self-defeating arms race in which the great Powers have been engaged for more than a decade. Ever since the end of the Second World War, the United Nations has been preoccupied with this fundamental problem.

3. The decision of the General Assembly adopted three years ago, setting the aim of general and complete disarmament, was an important new development in the search for an enduring peace. However, the subsequent record of the negotiations has not been encouraging. Stockpiles of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery have not ceased to multiply. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament which has been dealing with this urgent problem has made little progress. That this should be so is no reflection on the endeavours and the good faith of its members. One has only to study the contributions made by many of them to appreciate the value of the Geneva discussions.

4. May I state, however, that the non-representation in this forum of certain militarily significant States in the world imparts to its deliberations a degree of unreality. If disarmament is to be general and complete it must obviously be universal. No significant military Power, much less a major military Power, can be excluded from the scope of its implementation. Nor can it be expected that it would accept the obligation of a disarmament treaty negotiated without its representation.

5. The treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under the water comes as a ray of light on a dark horizon. Our children and generations yet unborn have been safeguarded against the future poisoning of the air they breathe, the water they drink and the food they eat.

6. In the Dark Ages, when unwanted children were buried alive, the Prophet Muhammad cried out in wrath: "What will you answer when the innocents that you have slain rise before God's judgement seat and ask, 'For what crime were we slain'?"

7. Let us hope that by this treaty our progeny and succeeding generations will be safeguarded against the agony of a living death. But as a measure of disarmament, the test-ban treaty is important more for what it promises than for what it has achieved. As has been well said, it is but the first step on a thousand-mile journey. It does not prohibit underground tests, it does not halt the nuclear arms race, much less reverse it.

8. At the time of adhering to the treaty, the Government of Pakistan expressed the strong hope that the prohibition of testing would be followed soon by agreements to cease underground tests also and to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons. Unless these and other measures of nuclear disarmament are taken, the test-ban treaty, although welcome in itself, may turn out to be of only illusory value in dissipating the fear of nuclear war from the minds of men. My Government attaches the highest importance and priority to the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons as a next step in the quest for general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

9. In this regard, President Mohammad Ayub Khan gave expression to the concern of Pakistan in his address to the seventeenth session of the General Assembly in the following words:

"An aspect of disarmament which is of deep concern to Pakistan is the clear and present danger of the spread of nuclear weapons and the knowledge of their technology to States which do not now possess them. The General Assembly is aware of this danger. Permit me to observe that the mere adoption of resolutions against dissemination of nuclear weapons and in favour of the establishment of a non-nuclear club, will not remove this danger. Unless the United Nations takes effective and urgent action in this direction, the race in nuclear armaments is bound to over-

take other parts of the world in the immediate future." [1133rd meeting, para. 16.]

In the reluctance of some Member States to accept the safeguard system devised by the International Atomic Energy Agency, we find cause for grave concern, particularly when the aversion to agency safeguards is accompanied by the priority plans to produce elements essential to the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Time and again the Agency has drawn attention to the increase in the number of countries reaching the stage of nuclear capability and the danger of such capability being diverted to war-like purposes. We support the decision of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency to recommend extension of its safeguards to nuclear reactors exceeding the capacity of 100 thermal megawatts and to study the question of applying safeguards to equipment. The great merit of international safeguards, as compared to bilateral safeguards, is that, being uninfluenced by political expediencies, they inspire greater world-wide confidence. The objective of an effective system of safeguards should be to ensure, by inspection and verification at every stage of the process, from the designing and manufacture of the reactor equipment to the disposal of nuclear material, that atomic power intended for peaceful uses will not and cannot be used for other purposes.

10. While basic differences of both a qualitative and a quantitative nature continue to persist on the substantive issues of general and complete disarmament and on measures for effective international control, the negotiations in Geneva do seem to my delegation to have opened prospects of limited steps which can be taken immediately. In the past, much controversy existed between the merits of a partial approach to disarmament as against attempts to deal with the problem in a comprehensive manner. We trust that with the conclusion of the test-ban treaty, pragmatic good sense will prevail over doctrinaire considerations. My delegation believes that at this stage, the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament could profitably devote itself to the task of reaching agreements on such limited measures as the prevention of surprise attack and the placing in orbit or stationing in outer space of weapons of mass destruction. We welcome, in this connexion, the recent agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union for peaceful co-operation in outer space. The United States and the Soviet Union have also indicated their readiness to make mutual concessions in order to facilitate agreements on measures to prevent surprise attack and war by accident. In particular, my delegation welcomes the proposal to establish inspection posts at the main points of concentration and movements of military forces in the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. We hope these limited steps in disarmament, and other measures such as the reduction of military expenditures and the release of an agreed proportion of funds thus saved for the purpose of economic and technical assistance to the developing countries, could be taken in the atmosphere created by the conclusion of the test-ban treaty.

11. As the speakers who have preceded me have pointed out, this Assembly meets in an atmosphere of goodwill and hope. We are encouraged by the constructive statements addressed to the Assembly by President Kennedy and the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. These statements contain concrete proposals which we hope will provide a basis for serious negotiations among the interested Powers and contribute to a further amelioration of the situation. We see in the test-

ban treaty a sign and a symbol of the will of the Soviet Union and the Western Powers for peaceful co-existence. President Kennedy and Chairman Krushchev looked into the abyss and stepped back from it. We are told that there are no possibilities of coexistence in the ideological field. Nevertheless, as statesmen, they cannot want nuclear war. Their enlightened self-interest demands that they re-establish sanity in the world because the two super-states whose destinies they guide must recognize the limits of their power.

12. The world is asking itself the question: Will the test-ban treaty be a turning-point in history? We cannot see past the veil which obscures the future. Dangerous questions are still outstanding. There has been no change as yet in the position of the East and the West on Viet-Nam, Laos, Germany, Berlin and Cuba, even though their frozen positions have somewhat melted. Nevertheless, the world is breathing with relief the new atmosphere of a limited "détente" which is unmistakable. We pray that as a culmination of the current trend, a mutually acceptable *modus vivendi* may be reached between the great Powers.

13. Apart from the East-West tension, serious problems persist and continue to poison relations among nations. As President Kennedy said here the other day [1209th meeting], the cold war is not the only expression of tension in this world and the nuclear race is not the only arms race.

14. In Africa the death spasms of colonialism and the obstinate pursuit of the false doctrine of racial superiority kindle the embers of old fears and hates. In the Caribbean, which in 1962 brought the world to the brink of catastrophe, there is yet no peace but only a precarious truce. But it is in Asia, with its stormy history, that peace is perhaps the least secure. This vast and ancient continent, inhabited by more than half of the population of our planet, continues to be the scene of great convulsions which may well change the destiny of mankind. The giant has awakened; still hardly conscious of its strength but capable, as in the past, of setting in motion forces and events that could change the course of world history. From end to end, from the Pacific to the Mediterranean, there is tumult and conflict. Neighbour is set against neighbour, peoples divided by war and diplomacy are made the pawns of forces beyond their control. In Viet-Nam and in Korea, in Laos, in Palestine and in the subcontinent of India and Pakistan, there exist bitter disputes and explosive situations which disturb the tranquillity of Asia and the peace of the world. Is it not time to take a new look at the state of this largest of all the continents and to devise an approach that looks beyond the policies of maintaining the *status quo* and is in accordance with the right of self-determination of peoples? For the well-being of the teeming masses of Asia and for the sake of the peace of the world, it is imperative to find just solutions to the disputes that divide Asian nations.

15. Among these disputes, the Kashmir question has a dimension and an importance of its own, involving, as it does, the future of 550 million people of Pakistan and India, the largest concentration of population next to that of China and more than one sixth of the human race. Estranged from each other, the two countries must remain the chief source of danger to the stability of the Asian continent. Reconciled, they have it in their power to assure the future of a large segment of mankind.

16. While this is no occasion for me to attempt a presentation of the Kashmir question in detail, I must yet

remind the Assembly that the central issue in the dispute is that of self-determination. Pakistan seeks no other solution than that of the free exercise of this right by the people of Kashmir.

17. This principle was accepted by both parties to the dispute. Its implementation has been blocked by one party. We now hear it said that India has made no such commitment. We know, of course, that the easiest way to repudiate a commitment is to deny that it was ever made. However, the commitment, the pledge, the word of honour are on public record, which may sometimes be forgotten but can never be expunged. Furthermore, the commitment is not of a vague and general nature, made in some pious declaration, but is explicitly embodied in an international agreement as set forth in the two United Nations resolutions<sup>1/</sup> which were solemnly accepted by India and Pakistan and which constituted the basis for the cessation of hostilities in Kashmir. Could any commitment be clearer than the very first article of the resolution of 5 January 1949:

"The question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India and Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite."<sup>2/</sup>

18. The pledge, that the future of Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people as freely expressed, was given not only to the United Nations but directly by India to Pakistan. Again, what could be clearer than the following declaration of the Prime Minister of India in his communication of 31 October 1947, addressed to the Prime Minister of Pakistan:

"Our assurance that we shall withdraw our troops from Kashmir as soon as peace and order are restored and leave the decision regarding the future of this State to the people of the State is not merely a promise to your Government but also to the people of Kashmir and the world."

Was any international commitment ever more clearly made, so consistently repeated, and yet more wilfully dishonoured?

19. Sometimes, rather than deny the commitment, India's representatives contend that there were conditions attached to the commitment which were not fulfilled and that Pakistan did not fulfil those conditions. We have said repeatedly that we are prepared to accept any impartial third-party verdict on this issue. It is India which makes an allegation and then refuses to submit it to impartial investigation.

20. Against the background of the assurances that I have quoted, it will not be difficult to appreciate the concern of the Government of Pakistan, and the indignation of our people, when the Prime Minister of India, as in his statement of 13 August 1963, talks of the idea of a plebiscite as being "old and discarded".

21. Pakistan seeks no concession but the right of the people of Kashmir to settle their own future. Let me state clearly and unambiguously from this rostrum that we shall not, now or ever, barter away the rights of the people of Kashmir in return for a settlement on the basis of a division of spoils.

22. The Kashmir dispute remains the basic cause of conflict between Pakistan and India. The other frictions and differences between the two countries are not comparable in magnitude and gravity to this essential issue which impinges on the viability and future of Pakistan itself. We are confident that all the other outstanding problems between us and our neighbour can be settled amicably if only the Kashmir quarrel is settled.

23. For more than a year, relations between Pakistan and India have been further aggravated by the expulsion of tens of thousands of Muslim citizens of India from their homes in the States of Assam and Tripura across the border into East Pakistan. This problem is being discussed by the two Governments through diplomatic channels. It is our earnest hope that it will be resolved in accordance with law and the principles of justice.

24. It is a cardinal principle of the foreign policy of Pakistan to live in peace and friendship with all its neighbours, without exception. With some of them we have had differences. We have been largely successful in composing them. We have concluded boundary agreements with Burma, India, Iran and the People's Republic of China which have resolved border disputes on the basis of mutual accommodation and friendship.

25. No country regrets more deeply than mine the outbreak of the border conflict between its two giant neighbours, China and India. This conflict has been a matter of deep and direct concern to us. Its repercussions have complicated the problem of our own security. We believe that this dispute can be resolved peacefully. A solution by war is inconceivable; it carries the risk of developing into a much wider conflict. It is therefore with deep apprehension that we view the radical alteration in the delicate military balance of the region by the augmentation of India's military strength. Our fears of the resulting danger to the security of Pakistan are not purely psychological; they are deeply rooted in history and flow from the evidence of India's readiness to resort to military force to settle disputes with its neighbours. Similar fears have also been voiced in other countries of the region.

26. Pakistan bears no ill will to the people of India. The people of Pakistan have shared a common history with the people of India for nearly a thousand years. During this long period they have influenced each other in many ways. These facts are central in our awareness. They inform our policy towards our neighbour. We are ever ready to continue the search for a basis of peaceful and honourable coexistence through an equitable settlement of all our mutual differences, of which by far the most important is Kashmir.

27. If war and violence are to be banished, then ways must be found to solve international disputes peacefully. The world we live in is passing through a period of transition and conflict. There are disputes between nations, there are struggles against domination, there are problems created by racial discrimination and by the existence of economic imbalances between nations. These are the tribulations of our age. The United Nations was established not to perpetuate privilege, but to ensure that, through peaceful change, a world community might be evolved in which no nation will dominate or rise against another.

28. The domination by one people by another is no new phenomenon; however, the organized form which it has taken under the system of colonialism is perhaps unique in the history of the world. The most pernicious aspect of colonial rule is that economic exploitation, which is

<sup>1/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Third Year, Supplement for November 1948, document S/1100, *ibid.*, Fourth Year, Supplement for January 1949, document S/1196.

<sup>2/</sup> *ibid.*, Fourth Year, Supplement for January 1949, document S/1196, para. 15.

its basic purpose, was sought to be concealed under the notion of the superiority of one race over another, whether as reflected in the brutal form of apartheid or in the more subtle doctrine of civilizing nations, holding empire over distant lands for the selfless purpose of training their backward peoples in the arts of life.

29. The bitter legacy of these ideas will, we hope, disappear with the final disappearance of colonialism. In the newly independent countries of Africa one sees today men of all races working together in mutual respect and to mutual advantage.

30. In South Africa alone, the doctrine of racial discrimination is proclaimed as the official philosophy of the State. The rulers of that unhappy country, blind to the evidence of their eyes, deaf to the appeals of the world, and ignoring the march of history, have attempted to halt its course. South Africa could become the hope of Africa; its rulers have chosen to make it the shame of the world. For many years mankind has hoped and prayed that good sense and reason would prevail in South Africa over prejudice and folly. Let us pray that the time for hope is not past, for the ordeal which South African Government has imposed upon all its people can result only in a victory for hate and chaos.

31. But let us not court disaster by the fond hope that the moral pressure of appeals made year after year by this Assembly will deflect the South African Government from its fatal course. The interests of the peoples of South Africa, be they white, black or brown, and of the peace and tranquillity of Africa and of the world demand that effective measures be taken to check the inhuman policies of South Africa and to avert disaster.

32. We welcome the decision of the Security Council<sup>3/</sup> calling for an embargo on the sale of any kind of arms to South Africa. We hope that, in their own true interest, all those countries whose close political and commercial links with South Africa place them in a position to put effective pressure on the racist régime will not hesitate too long before doing so. The Pakistan delegation is in full sympathy with the efforts that are being made by the General Assembly and its organs to exert pressures on South Africa to develop a multiracial community in which:

"... the social and legal structures would be dedicated to equality of all before the law, and to the participation of all ethnic groups on an equal footing, in economic, social, cultural and political activities."

33. All over the world one sees colonialism giving way to a relationship between nations based on equality and mutual respect. It is our earnest hope that the Governments of the United Kingdom and the other Administering Authorities will continue to follow the path of wisdom in granting self-government and independence to the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories under their administration, in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples concerned.

34. It is a matter of the deepest regret that Portugal persists in an attitude which is contrary to the trend of history and at variance with Portugal's own great past. When the colonial systems of the other European Powers are in the process of total dissolution, it is contrary to the laws of life to expect that Portuguese rule in Africa will not pass away. We pray that the leaders of Portugal who have set their country against the world will have the vision to see where lie its true interests in Africa and in the world.

35. In this context, the General Assembly must take note of a historic event which took place in May of this year. Heads of State of thirty-two African countries met in Addis Ababa and pledged themselves with remarkable unanimity to take active measures in order to liberate the remaining dependent territories in that continent. The Conference adopted a Pan-African charter and established a consultative machinery. The Pakistan delegation hails this event as the manifestation of Africa's urge to political unity and the consciousness of a Pan-African community. A historian of antiquity has observed that out of Africa there always comes something new. The nations of Asia, and even those of Europe, which are yet lacking in a similar kind of consciousness of their continents must applaud the peoples of Africa for setting them an example. Pakistan wishes God-speed to free Africa in its search for continental unity.

36. Eight years ago, in the beautiful city of Bandung, twenty-nine independent States of Asia and Africa met together in the first inter-continental conference of the former subject races in the history of mankind. The Bandung Conference<sup>4/</sup> enunciated ten principles of international conduct, including the elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, to guide them in their international relations. Since 1955, more than a score of dependent peoples have emerged as independent and sovereign States. My delegation believes that, with their distinctive experience, they have a rich contribution to make to the problems which continue to face the peoples of Asia and Africa. Old disputes persist and new frictions have arisen. The time has come, therefore, to convene a second Asian-African conference to review the conclusions and recommendations adopted by the first and to revitalize and renew its pledges which still remain unfulfilled. We have no doubt that a second conference will not fail to make a valuable contribution to world peace.

37. The passing of colonialism is only the first step towards the establishment of rational and mutually beneficial economic relations between the nations, essential to the well-being of the world as a whole and to the creation of a true international community. This Organization, which has made a significant contribution to the liberation of peoples and nations, faces a great challenge in the economic field. The peace, prosperity and political stability of the world cannot be assured if poverty, disease and ignorance continue to afflict two-thirds of mankind.

38. The division of the world into an affluent North and an impoverished South makes for conditions of imbalance and instability. The main problem of the poor countries is not that they are poor in resources or lacking in enterprise. Their problems arise from the fact that, during the period of colonialism, their economies were only developed to serve as adjuncts to the industry and commerce of the colonial Powers. It is only in the last decade or so that, upon attaining independence, these countries have turned their attention to the fullest exploitation and development of their resources.

*Mr. Alvarez Vidaurre (El Salvador), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

39. Industrialization is the way to the economic development of under-developed countries, to their ability to satisfy the demands of growing populations for a better way of life and even to the rationalization of ag-

<sup>3/</sup> *Ibid.*, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5389.

<sup>4/</sup> Asian-African Conference, 18-27 April 1955.

ricultural and raw material production. The task of economic development can be carried out more speedily if their efforts are supplemented by assistance which is demanded not as atonement for past economic wrongs but flowing from a realization of enlightened self-interest. The prosperity of the affluent countries themselves cannot, in the long run, be separated from the economic development of the poorer countries. The need for a common effort to raise the standard of living of the poorer nations is, of course, recognized, and I need not labour the point.

40. We do not believe that a debate on the respective merits of bilateral or international aid programmes would be productive. The needs of the developing countries for capital, for equipment and for skills are so great that programmes of aid from different sources will supplement rather than compete with each other. For this reason, my Government believes that the aid programmes of the United Nations are not a substitute for aid received bilaterally and that increase in the size and scope of the former, for instance, through the establishment of a United Nations capital development fund, is to be welcomed, both because it will contribute to the total effort and because it will widen participation in that effort.

41. From whatever sources it may come, the flow of capital and skill into the under-developed countries makes a vital contribution to their development efforts, as it will take many years for the presently under-developed countries to reach the stage of self-sustaining growth. This aid is gratefully received, but the availability of aid should not blind us to the fact that the primary purpose and desire of the under-developed countries is to attain viable economies.

42. Almost all the under-developed countries are producers of raw materials or agricultural commodities, on the export of which they depend for the import of goods and services to sustain and develop their economic life. The short-term fluctuations for which the markets of primary products are notorious impose heavy losses on the primary producing countries and add to the difficulties of economic planning. The problem has been made much worse by what appears to be a secular trend of a fall in the prices of raw materials and agricultural commodities in comparison with the prices of manufactures and capital goods. In simple terms, this means that the producer in a highly industrialized country is constantly charging more for what he sells to the farmer in the under-developed country and paying the latter less and less for what he has to offer in exchange.

43. The problem of stabilizing the terms of trade between the industrialized countries and the producers of agricultural commodities and raw materials, therefore, calls for urgent solution. This might take the form of stabilizing the prices of raw materials and commodities, as has been done in the case of coffee, tin, rubber and some other products; or a scheme to ensure developing countries against losses from heavy falls in the prices of their export commodities. It is no less important that the manufactures of the developing countries should not be excluded from existing or potential markets by tariff walls and cartel-like arrangements.

44. The forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which will be held in Geneva in 1964, will, we hope, make an important contribution towards finding solutions to these problems. Its success will depend on the attitude taken by the industrialized countries in dealing with the problems of the developing

countries. We would expect that their own enlightened self-interest will prevail over monopolist tendencies and pressures from groups unable to look beyond short-term advantage.

45. The United Nations is often criticized for its inadequacies. Pakistan has had its share of disappointment. Nevertheless, seeing the United Nations at work in the Congo and in West Irian, who would deny that this Organization is a living force and an influence in the affairs of the world? There are few problems between nations which do not, in one form or another, come under the purview of the activities or interests of the United Nations. Whenever nations have sought the assistance of the Organization and have given it their honest co-operation, it has been possible to find mutually satisfactory solutions. Indonesia and the Netherlands gave a striking demonstration in 1962 of their faith in the principles of the United Nations Charter by agreeing to the peaceful settlement, with the assistance of the Organization, of their protracted and bitter dispute over West Irian. That is only an example of what can be achieved when Governments are willing to subordinate considerations of sovereignty and narrow self-interest to the common interest of the peaceful settlement of disputes. We note with deep distress that another source of friction has now arisen in that region, affecting three States with which Pakistan has close and friendly ties. We are confident that the statesmanship of the leaders concerned will make possible a peaceful adjustment of the situation.

46. There are many practical ways in which the structure of the Organization can be strengthened and its capacity to act made more effective. A more efficient conduct of the work of the General Assembly, in accordance with the suggestions made in the report of the Ad Hoc Committee set up to examine the matter, is one of the ways in which that can be done. There is need also to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to keep the peace, and the first essential in this connexion is to find ways of avoiding the sort of difficulty that has been experienced in the financing of the peace-keeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East. We are happy that the Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations has been kept in being and given the mandate of bringing the widest possible measure of agreement among all Member States on the financing of the peace-keeping operations. We sincerely hope that the Working Group will succeed in its task. There is need also for the composition of the main organs of the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Secretariat, to be made more representative of the present nearly universal composition of the United Nations. We cannot but regret that political considerations of an extraneous nature have so far made it impossible for the rightful representatives of China to take their place in the United Nations and thereby make the Organization a truly universal one. We hope that counsels of wisdom will prevail in the end and that considerations of a practical nature, if nothing else, will inspire a more realistic approach to this question than has been the case up to now.

47. The world has known, in the past, attempts by a single Power to impose peace and order in the world. The ancient Persians under the Achaemenians established the first world State in history. Alexander the Great was inspired, in pursuit of his world-wide conquests, by the ideal of a universal human community. The Writ of Rome ran through many parts of Europe,

Africa and Asia. Surviving the Dark Ages, the ideal of a universal community was largely realized in Europe under dual supremacy of the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor. In the Islamic world, the caliphate held together diverse peoples and nations for many centuries in the framework of a universal State. Then came Genghis Khan and following him Timur, who built their world empires on the ruins of great civilizations which they destroyed. They believed and acted upon the credo that, as there is but one God in Heaven, there must be only one ruler on earth. And until recently the sun never set on regions of the earth subject to Pax Britannica.

48. During the last few centuries, attempts of European Powers to establish world-wide or continental domination have plunged mankind into wars of unparalleled suffering and destruction. In the present historical context, the political evolution of the world is oriented towards an international world order based on the consent and co-operation of equal sovereign States.

49. Can this experiment succeed? Historians who contemplate the contemporary world scene from the point of view of all time and all existence do not seem to believe that it will. They look to the imposition of a world order by the unchallengeable power exercised in combination by the two super-States as the only alternative for mankind to self-destruction. In default of such a combination we are warned that in the foreseeable future a third power may well believe itself to be under the mandate of Heaven to rule the world.

50. Philosophies such as these are a challenge to our faith in the United Nations. The world Organization was conceived as an alternative to world hegemony, to the domination of one super-Power or more over all others. It is inconceivable that in the era of the United Nations, sovereign States will acquiesce in an order imposed by the strength of a great Power or even that the shape of the world will be decided by the contest of exclusive ideologies or ways of life. We shall do well to remind ourselves, while we are preoccupied with short-term prospectives, of the ultimate goal towards which the United Nations must move, if mankind is to be saved from self-destruction and permitted to realize the promise of man's high destiny implicit in his advent.

*Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) resumed the Chair.*

51. Mr. RIFA'I (Jordan): It is an honour for me to address this distinguished gathering in the name of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and on behalf of my delegation.

52. The favourable atmosphere in which the General Assembly of the United Nations enters its eighteenth regular session gives us hope that it will be a session of success and positive results.

53. I deem it a privilege at the outset of my statement, Mr. President, to express to you my warm congratulations on your election to the Presidency of this Assembly by a vote of unanimous confidence which, as an outstanding diplomat and a distinguished son of your great country, you fully deserve, and to wish you all success in carrying out your important task.

54. The growth of the United Nations in membership and in experience gives it increasing strength and wisdom to enable it, in its endeavours, to solve the difficulties of life and to lead man in his eternal journey towards a world of peace, justice and prosperity. This everlasting journey, which throughout the ages has been guided by prophets, heroes and martyrs heading

towards the higher and richer plateaus of life, stands today as a challenge to the united forces of all nations and to the statesmanship of all leaders of our time.

55. The struggle between good and evil, between right and wrong and between peace and war manifests itself today more than ever in a decisive contest which will either realize the golden dream of humanity or will throw it into the valley of death and darkness.

56. Do our achievements in establishing a better and more progressive life, and our accomplishments in laying the foundations of international peace, warrant a claim of victory to which we close our eyes in pleasant comfort? Are these achievements and accomplishments comparable to the magnitude of our collective efforts throughout the past seventeen years, since the inception of the United Nations?

57. Today, at the opening of the eighteenth session, we meet to review our successes and our failures and to register our satisfaction and declare our hopes.

58. The signing in Moscow of the partial nuclear test-ban treaty<sup>5/</sup> introduced a fresh breeze in the international climate and caused a feeling of comfort. Although it is limited to three environments, this treaty has the strong effect of leading to a comprehensive and universal solemn pledge which will prohibit all forms of nuclear weapons tests and thus will pave the way for wider spheres of agreement in the general scope of disarmament.

59. It is fair to say in this respect that, although the credit for concluding the Moscow test-ban pact should go to the States and leaders that took the initiative, yet a considerable proportion of that credit should go to the small States and the non-nuclear Powers which never failed to exert their moral pressure, both within and outside the United Nations, to bring about such a result. The immediate and impressive demonstration given by over one hundred Governments in subscribing to the agreement is strong evidence of the genuine world-wide desire to put an end to these perilous tests.

60. This achievement, however marginal it may be, in arresting the armaments contest should be a true encouragement in the efforts towards the resolution of the central issue of general and complete disarmament.

61. My Government follows with keen interest the tireless endeavours of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. We realize that the process of armament throughout the ages and the compounded mistrust, doubts and apprehensions do not help negotiations among the parties concerned to go faster or to achieve better results commensurate with the universal call for disarmament. Yet we also realize that what we are trying to build today is not mainly for the present generation but rather for the generations to come, and what we are trying to plant will grow and flourish in the days of those who follow us. What is important is that we should save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and should honour the first pledge in our United Nations Charter. My delegation notes that the treaty for the partial banning of nuclear weapons tests was concluded outside the province of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. Yet we consider that such achievements, wherever they may take place, are part of the general progress along the road of disarmament. Nevertheless, we believe that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament should be further strength-

<sup>5/</sup> Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed 5 August 1963.

ened in both authority and level of representation to enable it to carry out its weighty task.

62. But that feeling of comfort which touched the hearts of men and which reduced tension in international relations—how far did it go and what people did it reach? Did it reach the miserable, the deprived, the oppressed and the man in refuge and destitution? Did it cover regions where rights are lost and territory is usurped? Did it reach the masses of Arab refugees subsisting on international charity after being uprooted from their native land by the cruelty of mankind? Did it touch the parts of Africa in which the African inhabitant has been suffering racial discrimination and segregation under the self-interest of the white settler? And did it reach those people whom colonial rule has not yet allowed to join the procession of independent and free nations?

63. The delegation on whose behalf I speak represents a country which lives in the centre of the plight of the Arab nation of Palestine, a country which bears the Arab pains of Palestine and entertains the Arab hopes in that sacred land. I would be betraying the cause of righteousness and justice and the principles of honesty and faithfulness if I did not portray to this Assembly the effect of the plight of Palestine among my people, and report on the impact of this cardinal issue in our region.

64. The peace with which we all are enchanted and to which all our efforts are dedicated will be meaningless if its realities are translated only into mechanical terms. It will be meaningless if its purpose is only the elimination of the tools of war. It will be meaningless if disputes are decided by the rule of force, not the rule of law and justice. It will be meaningless if political expediency and vested interests set the norms of international relationships and conduct. Such a peace cannot rise to the hopes of my people. It cannot heal the wounds of the Arab nation, caused by the historic aggression in Palestine.

65. My country, which lives in the range of vision of the disaster of Palestine, cannot sleep with pleasant dreams. The hundreds of thousands of unfortunate human beings who are herded nowadays into camps within the border of the Jordan Kingdom represent a nation that has been ruined by the action of the United Nations at one time and the inaction of the United Nations at other times.

66. What is severely painful in the question of Palestine is not only the extirpation of the native and legitimate inhabitants from their fatherland, but equally the fact that in the age of the United Nations this population, scattered here and there, has continued to suffer in destitution and exile for fifteen long years and continues to wait for redress. Time has not softened the bitterness of the Arab people with regard to Palestine. There is no other problem in the world which could arouse the sentiments of the Arabs more than that of Palestine, I would venture to say that the political attitude of the Arab nation as a whole in its international relations could be seriously affected one way or another, or shifted from one position to the other, if the Palestine question or any of its aspects and ramifications is at stake.

67. The catastrophe of Palestine unleashed in the Arab world a wave of national awakening imbuing the masses of the Arab nation with vigorous ideas. The pressure of these ideas will continue to generate a chain of actions and reactions until the Arab nation finds a way of poli-

tical, economic and social life which will fully justify its higher national and international aspirations.

68. We, the Arabs, have witnessed in our recent history the collaboration of colonialism and Zionism in a joint atrocious move against our national existence in Palestine. Whenever we try to dispel the image of the brutal massacres and the terror and horror which swept our people in Palestine, we see that image, as a living reminder, in the faces of the destroyed families of our refugees.

69. It does not escape the attention of my Government that the Palestine question, great and grave as it is, has not yet shaken the conscience of the world so strongly as to move this Assembly to act on it in a just and rightful manner. The fundamental question to be answered is why the Palestinian Arab, the rightful owner of the land, should be thrown out of his homeland to live as a refugee, and be replaced by a foreign invader who has usurped the land, the house, the farm and all the movable and immovable property of that native Palestinian. In all conscience, no one would expect the Arabs to tolerate such a grave injustice. And when we, as Arab Members of the United Nations, defend the rights of the Arabs of Palestine, we in fact defend the principles of the United Nations Charter.

70. Having established an alien Zionist State on the pure Arab soil of Palestine, the United Nations created a serious problem in the Middle East. The problem, in its wider sense, is that in the Arab region there exists today a foreign authority in an Arab environment, illegally founded, hostile in attitude to the surroundings, and expansionist by policy. And, in its stark reality, the problem is the tragedy of an Arab nation living in exile and deprived of all its natural rights of return, of property, and of compensation, a nation deprived of its past and of its future.

71. In a wider range, the problem produced several other difficulties and complications each of which constitutes a serious issue. Thus, we see that, apart from the military conditions along the demarcation lines governed now by a general armistice, a great deal of unrest lies in several other aspects of the main problem.

72. To mention some, I would refer to the attempt of Israel to divert the waters of the Jordan River to the territory presently under its control, an attempt which, if completed, will endanger peace in our area. I also would refer to the treatment of the Arab minority in Israel, which is being subjected to restrictive and discriminatory measures and regulations. And I would refer to the question of the property of the Arab refugees, controlled and seized and disposed of by the Israeli authorities through the promulgation of laws and ordinances to ensure the expropriation of this immense property, the income from which exceeds \$100 million a year.

73. Reference could be made to other important aspects of the question of Palestine. However, such issues are symptoms of the original disease, which, unless properly and effectively treated, will continue to grow and spread with increasing danger.

74. If the United Nations, with the moral and material resources at its command, has become unable to settle the question rightly and equitably, or if it has become indifferent to such a settlement, then it is creating a situation tantamount to an open invitation to the aggrieved, the wronged and the desperate to take the law

into their own hands, with all the dire consequences that inevitably flow therefrom.

75. Sometimes we hear voices calling for direct negotiations between the Arabs and Israel, which they believe may lead to peace. While we yearn for the restoration of peace in the Holy Land, we maintain that a situation in which wrong is legalized and aggression is tolerated and considered an acceptable fact is a situation which does not provide a suitable atmosphere for peace.

76. If I have dwelt at a certain length on the Palestine question in this general statement, it is not only because my country is deeply and widely involved in this problem, nor is it only because it is a question of denial of basic legitimate national rights, but because it is a continued threat to international peace and security. The fact that this question has, up to now, engaged the Security Council in two hundred meetings is indeed a further evidence of its seriousness.

77. Another source of danger to international peace and security is the policy of apartheid in South Africa and the question of racial discrimination. In an age when man has reached a better understanding of his own worth and his own significance, when men of all colours, creeds and sects should form one society with no barriers or limitations whatsoever among the individuals in it—in this age, we submit, any policy of racial discrimination or persecution is a reactionary and uncivilized practice, which my country strongly condemns.

78. We deplore the rule of the white minority settlers in any African territory over the indigenous African population, whether this rule is the result of an applied racist policy or of an undemocratic colonial system. What is now taking place in South Africa, Angola, Southern Rhodesia and the remaining colonies in Africa is an outrageous practice, repugnant to the political, moral and social standards of today. The United Nations must take every measure necessary to remedy this intolerable situation. The unyielding policy of apartheid applied by the Government of South Africa poses another serious problem for this General Assembly. It confronts us with the question of the "defiance" by a Member State of the decisions and pronouncements of the Organization. The United Nations cannot safeguard its integrity and prestige if its decisions are to be disregarded by its Members. On our agenda there are important items on which the General Assembly has adopted a number of resolutions—indeed, to such an extent that the issuance of such resolutions has become routine work. They are in our records, reaffirming each other with no substantive effect. The General Assembly, in adopting resolutions, should therefore follow a procedure which would ensure the implementation of its resolutions, not merely the repetition of terms and expressions, and which would guarantee the effectiveness of its recommendations.

79. Discrimination as regards race or religion does not belong to the ethical standards of this age, nor does it belong to the moral teachings of earlier days. I come from a region where international brotherhood and human tolerance are basic conditions of life; where nationalism is a concept of culture and common life, not of race and blood; where religion is the practice of virtue, not the form of worship; where human beings, all of them, are the people of God, the most favoured being the most useful to his community. It is on the basis of this attitude that we view any situation of racial discrimination or religious intolerance, whether

in Africa, in South-East Asia or in any other part of the world.

80. Man has gone far in breaking through outer space, in exploring the infinite universe, in discovering his own realities and abilities through discovering the unknown. My country takes pride in honouring those champions who fly into the atmosphere to challenge the limitations of the upper strata and to circle the globe with unbounded courage and utmost dedication. How happy humanity would be if the collective efforts of its own sons and their talents could be used for a joint exploration of the unknown for the common benefit of mankind. How great it would be if the big Powers could agree to a pooling of their resources in a unified atmospheric scheme.

81. On this planet, we note with great satisfaction that economic development and prosperity are marching side by side with political progress and achievements. Economic development plans are being carried out in various parts of the world at a rapid rate and in wide dimensions. It is vital to the general movement of international economic progress that the developed countries should continue to assist the developing countries, in an organized and systematic manner, to meet their development needs.

82. My country, under the wise leadership of its monarch and through his perseverance in securing for his people both progress and stability, is advancing steadily toward self-sufficiency, a stage which is bringing us closer to meeting the needs of our people and to ensuring their happiness, well-being and prosperity.

83. The United Nations, with the limited funds available for development assistance, is doing its utmost. The developed industrialized countries are expected in this regard further to increase their contributions to the various funds administered by the United Nations in the field of economic and technical assistance programmes, so that the goals of the United Nations Development Decade may be realized.

84. It gives me pleasure on this occasion to acknowledge with appreciation, on behalf of my Government, the technical assistance and the aid to Jordan's development plans which are extended to us by the United Nations, the Special Fund and the specialized agencies.

85. My delegation gives due regard to the preparations being made by convening the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1964. We are hoping that this Conference will mitigate the effects of the adverse terms of trade from which the primary producing countries continue to suffer.

86. We are confident that the present encouraging international situation is quite suitable for fruitful co-operation in the economic and social fields and that the objectives of the United Nations Charter concerning the improvement of the standards of living of all peoples can be achieved.

87. The Jordan delegation notes with great satisfaction that in the course of the last year the United Nations was able to settle satisfactorily several important questions which could have developed in a manner endangering international peace. And in this respect it is a privilege for me to pay the highest tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, for his superior ability and outstanding statesmanship in helping to bring those problems to a successful solution.

88. It is to the satisfaction of my delegation that the United Nations operations in the Congo have fulfilled the



tasks with which they were charged. The political unity of the Congo has fortunately been achieved. Order and security in the Congo are being maintained. Direct intervention across the Congolese borders can no longer be claimed. The tense international situation which surrounded the Congo at one time is now over, and the Congolese Government is in a position to assume the full responsibilities of a sovereign State.

89. A notable feature in the progress of our Organization is that it has developed to a stage where it is able to implement general and basic principles contributing to the solution of international problems. Thus, we see that the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples has gone so far in a horizontal line that it has covered several lands and nations in Africa and Asia and has helped the process of independence to materialize. It is indeed a source of pride for us to sit today in this great hall with nations that a few years ago were deprived of their present status by colonial rule. The newly independent and Sovereign States are contributing not only to the progress of their own peoples or their own continents, but to the progress of humanity at large.

90. The meeting of thirty-two Heads of independent African States in Addis Ababa in May 1963 was a remarkable historic event demonstrating the unity of the African nations and their march towards the realization of the higher ideals of life.

91. My country will continue to give its support to every nation that has not yet been able to enjoy freedom and independence, and to this end will continue to join in the efforts to eradicate the remnants of colonialism in every part of the world. We highly praise the activities and accomplishments of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four.<sup>6/</sup> In view of the important task with which that Committee is entrusted, my delegation feels that a system for its membership should be adopted which would allow a wider association by Members of the General Assembly in its work.

92. My delegation follows with keen interest the evolution towards independence in the various territories reported upon by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four. A colonial issue of major importance in the Arab homeland is the question of Aden and the protectorates in the southern Arabian Peninsula. The presence of a British military base in Aden is a cause of tension and insecurity in the whole region. The political measures and establishments which the colonial Power tries to impose in order to secure its continued presence in the colony of Aden and the protectorates are contrary to the national aspirations of the inhabitants who should be given full freedom to exercise the right of self-determination for the attainment of their independence and the achievement of their national and territorial unity. The United Nations itself, in view of the prevailing conditions in Aden and the protectorates, should see to it that the political future of the area is determined by the freely expressed will of its inhabitants. Such has been the practice of the United Nations on all similar colonial issues. This area, therefore, cannot be an exception. My delegation will give full consideration in due course to the important question of Aden.

93. Jordan, being a part of the Arab homeland, can in no way tolerate the presence of colonialism on the

shores of the Arabian Peninsula. For the last three years the question of Oman has been on the agenda of the United Nations without any fruitful result being achieved in bringing the right of the people of Oman to independence closer to fulfilment. The people of Oman have paid and are still paying a heavy price to regain their independence and restore their country's territorial integrity. It is contrary to the principles of self-determination and the terms of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples that their national rights remain unrecognized. My delegation earnestly hopes that this year the question of Oman will receive adequate consideration by all the Members of the General Assembly, with a view to restoring independence to the people of Oman.

94. We come to the eighteenth regular session of the General Assembly with problems before us to solve and proposals to consider. Our attitude one way or the other on these problems and proposals will write history and establish the future. May we hope that our decisions in every case and in every situation will be determined by the merits of the issue and the principles it involves. And may God guide us in the right path for the good of humanity.

95. Mr. APEDO-AMAH (Togo) (translated from French): We, the Togolese people, are profoundly and sincerely attached to peace and the union of our countrymen; for we know that we are not alone in the world and that our peace and well-being cannot be complete when danger threatens our neighbours near or far. We are just as firmly attached to world peace, whether it be in Asia, in the Near East or, especially, in Africa. We are attached to the reconciliation of all peoples and to human and world solidarity. My country was therefore acting in accordance with its deepest beliefs when it participated with five other African countries in the preparatory work for the historic Addis Ababa Conference.

96. Whenever, in my country, the bonds of national harmony have loosened so that order and peace were threatened, we have always found that a patient and eager search for all possible means of effecting reconciliation and restoring peace with freedom and justice has invariably saved us from the danger. What is true for my country must also be true for all countries, especially for those in which the people, because of skin colour or the will of some to dominate others, or as a result of intolerance, are divided into antagonistic groups, superimposed like oil and water in a bottle, unable to mix, to know and to value one another.

97. My country, as I said, is entirely devoted to peace and harmony. For that reason my delegation has been particularly responsive to the remarks made from this rostrum supporting the strengthening of the world peace—unfortunately too precarious—that we now enjoy, the abolition of racial discrimination, and, lastly, a general rapprochement of all peoples. If the present session of the General Assembly could keep this promise, it would mark a decisive turning-point in the history of mankind.

98. A portentous event—and a pledge for the future—preceded the opening of the eighteenth session: the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—the only countries which possess atomic weapons—at last realized the mortal danger in which they alone placed this planet which belongs to us all; they agreed among themselves and promised to renounce a certain category of nuclear tests and sealed their agreement by a treaty signed at

<sup>6/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Moscow. It is understood, unfortunately, that other categories of nuclear tests may continue and that the immense stockpiles will remain intact and available for the apocalyptic use for which they are intended. These monstrous stockpiles are said to represent more than twenty times the quantity required to blow up our planet.

99. We in Togo had thought that the total destruction, under control, of these bombs and their carriers would be decided upon at the Moscow meeting. But the time when our anguished spirits will at last feel the relief of which we have so often dreamt is still distant. The Moscow Treaty therefore had not aroused any great enthusiasm in my country. Our anguish remains, but our hope, too, abides and will not die. There is a glimmer of hope on the horizon: we do not have the right not to acclaim it.

100. History, of course, has taught us the value of treaties which are concluded only the better to be broken. We are, however, among the many countries that have acceded to the Moscow Treaty and have signed it. From my country's point of view, this gesture was made in order not to leave the three protagonists alone face to face and to make them feel that the matter was not only their problem but the problem of us all, in order to caution them formally against any retrogression and, lastly, in order to encourage them to go forward to general disarmament in the very near future.

101. The fact that the three authors of the Moscow Treaty overcame all manner of obstacles in order to reach agreement in the interest of peace is a good augury in itself. It must be welcomed. The momentum gained in this way has led them, or at least two of them—the United States of America and the USSR—to envisage a joint flight to the moon. At this point I should like to make a comment. Our planet is hospitable and generous. Nature has spread immense and inexhaustible riches before us. Life on earth is potentially sweet and good for all. However, all do not yet have their fair share of the inheritance. Some have much more than they need. But others—and they are the overwhelming majority—are without the absolute minimum; and it is certain that the way things are going, the rich countries are continuing to get richer and the poor countries poorer. This is an alarming situation which urgently calls for rigorous action. Then why not remain on earth? Why spend fortunes to reach another planet, which may be only a desert hostile to man, when on our own earth we have not yet fulfilled all our duties as good heirs and fathers? The wish expressed by a large number of delegations from this rostrum is that there should soon be general disarmament, affecting both atomic and conventional weapons and that the colossal sums hitherto spent on the manufacture of bombs and guns should henceforth be used to give bread to those who have none and to improve our earth so that all men may taste the joy of living.

102. Therefore, at a time when the circumstances attending this eighteenth session justify hope in this regard, space competitions and feats and this idyllic flight to the moon ought not to be encouraged. As long as poverty continues to ravage the world, such feats and moon flights, because of the considerable sums which must be sunk in them, can represent only a fantasy, a foolish waste. I realize that certain ventures, certain experiments which in the past were judged mad and useless later produced results which today benefit us all. The cautious or timid souls who opposed them at the time seem so ridiculous to us today! But in present

world conditions, my country is not afraid of ridicule of that kind and is prepared, so far as it is concerned, to assume before history the responsibility for delaying the moon flight for some years—time for vast organized and active human and world collaboration to bring rays of light and joy into all the homes on earth and to restore balance in a world which the Creator intended to be harmonious but in which harmony is everywhere destroyed.

103. On this subject of harmony an image comes to mind. I borrow it from the eminent African Head of State Mr. Leopold Sedar Senghor, the President of the Republic of Senegal, who said in substance that all the peoples of the earth together play a vast symphony. The industrialized Powers are the ones that lead the orchestra. This we readily admit. We the countries of the under-developed world—the greater part of mankind—are the percussion section. If the orchestra leader becomes dizzy and loses the beat, we are there, steadily beating out on the drums the harmonious rhythm of man's life on earth, thus compelling him to come back down and listen to us. If our symphony is not to become a dreadfully stormy, tormented and ragged cacophony, it cannot be otherwise.

104. The time has come, therefore, to listen a little more, indeed a great deal more to us—the peoples of the under-developed world. The peoples of the under-developed world constitute the overwhelming majority of mankind. Nothing decided or done without them will ever rest on a solid foundation. Any action taken or continued without or against their advice will inevitably lead to a catastrophe, which it would be so easy to prevent here and now. Hence, not only must we be listened to attentively but our views should be sought in all matters, we should be given our proper part to play.

105. In this Organization where equality and non-discrimination are professed, the representation of the countries of Africa in various organs is notoriously inadequate. Several speakers have already said so. It must be said again, and it must be pointed out that this is not a mere question of condescension, expediency or bargaining. It is a question of justice, balance and harmony. Let us, therefore, stop subordinating Africa's presence in United Nations bodies to any consideration other than justice. At this stage my delegation does not wish to submit any specific proposal. It asks only one thing: that a wide exchange of views should be initiated with a view to reaching a solution satisfactory to all.

106. The justice, balance and harmony which I mentioned in speaking of the representation of our countries in United Nations bodies are, when transposed to the world scene, the very conditions for the survival of our world. Restoration of balance and harmony to the world means a more just distribution of material benefits among all peoples. The bilateral or multilateral aid granted to developing countries should be regarded simply as justice to be rendered, reparation to be made, a pressing duty of solidarity to be performed. Here, too, the African countries would like to be intimately associated at all stages and at all levels with what is being done. In any event, this aid, from whatever source it comes, must be greatly increased.

107. We cannot feel satisfied when peoples, even if they eat their fill, lack that essential food of the spirit—freedom. We must remember that man does not live by bread alone. To men who have nothing to eat and who do not enjoy freedom either, the fate reserved for them by other men is indeed cruel. In Africa advancing decolonization is coming up against bloody barricades

put up by Portugal and South Africa. Portugal, we are told, plans to conduct a referendum in the countries over which it exercises dominion. But this referendum has already been held. The peoples of these countries have said yes to freedom and dignity. Their leaders have not considered the cost. They have gone underground and are suffering martyrdom. Portugal thus has people—in the person of those leaders—who are all ready to begin the dialogue. Obviously the African countries will never deny the virtues of negotiation and dialogue, and we can only encourage the parties to resort to them. In fact, we, the countries of the Charter of Addis Ababa, are all parties to the case. The matter concerns us in the highest degree, if only because countries adjacent to theatres of operations receive stray bullets, whether intentionally or not. Moreover, we have a sacred duty of solidarity towards our brothers in the struggle, on pain of being considered accomplices, as one of the preceding speakers said. We therefore hope that a happy conclusion may be reached without too much delay so that no other action will be necessary.

108. The attitude of the South African Government remains strangely mummified, defying time, the lessons of history and general disapproval. We must look squarely at our contradictions and our breaches of trust. By subscribing to the United Nations Charter, South Africa assumed an obligation to respect the equality of men and human dignity. Yet it is openly—and with arrogant satisfaction—pursuing the frightful policy of apartheid, doing injury to the persons and human dignity of millions and millions of Africans. Almost all the countries represented here condemn the policy of apartheid; but at the same time a certain number of them give their support to South Africa when it comes to inducing South Africa to recognize its error.

109. My proposal, in the African spirit of dialogue and of pacific settlement by every means, would be that the General Assembly should ask the Powers friendly to South Africa to confer directly with that country in an attempt at persuasion and to report to us at this very session. If the method of amicable persuasion failed, one last role would remain for the Powers friendly to South Africa, one which only they can play: they would have to bring decisive pressure to bear on the South African Government—decisive yet friendly, since ultimately it would be in the enlightened self-interest of the South African Government and in the interest of world peace. What a bitter disappointment it would be if we were to be told that nothing can be done to change the course of events! We would then leave the door open to a catastrophe, the nature of which we would have determined ourselves by our guilty acquiescence.

110. Apartheid, racial discrimination and lingering colonialism are so many dreadful cancers, which I speak of with repugnance. But having said what I felt it was my right, indeed my duty, to say, I have pleasure now in concluding with a few last words, addressed to you, Mr. President, on the occasion of your brilliant election to the Presidency of this Assembly. Many splendid compliments have already been addressed to you, each more eloquent than the last, and you will hear more and better ones still. This, of course, intimidates me. Nevertheless, we wish to add our compliments because they are our own and because we know what feelings we put into them. I am, therefore, happy, Mr. President, to present them to you on behalf of my delegation.

111. Mr. BEAVOGUI (Guinea) (translated from French): Mr. President, you will, I hope, allow me to add my voice to those of the representatives who have spoken before me in order to extend to you the sincere congratulations of the delegation of Guinea on the occasion of your brilliant election. We sincerely hope that, under your lofty guidance, the eighteenth session will fulfil the hopes placed in it by all our peoples. To that end, my delegation will spare no effort to facilitate your task by offering you its full and complete co-operation.

112. At the same time, I should like to express the gratitude of the Government of the Republic of Guinea for the honour and mark of confidence accorded it by the General Assembly in unanimously electing a representative of Guinea, Mr. Achkar Marof, as Chairman of the Fourth Committee.

113. From this rostrum it has been rightly recalled that at the dawn of its eighteenth year the League of Nations was a dying body. To that should be added the further recollection that the outstanding event which had hastened the decline of that first attempt at an international organization was precisely the colonial adventures of Mussolini's fascism, of which the heroic people of the Empire of Ethiopia were the victim—adventures which the League of Nations had been unable either to prevent or to discourage.

114. Although at the dawn of its eighteenth year the United Nations does not appear to be threatened with disintegration, the extreme dangers that colonial adventures represent for this Organization should nevertheless be emphasized. It is our hope that, having learned the bitter lessons of the inglorious end of the League of Nations, the United Nations will devote itself, as a matter of absolute priority, to the final liquidation of the shameful and degrading system of foreign domination and its inevitable corollary: racial discrimination. It is in any event in this vital field that, in the last analysis we will gauge the success or failure of that supreme hope of all peoples—the United Nations.

115. For its part, Africa, now united and reconciled with itself, wishes to state at the outset its renewed determination to give our Organization its full co-operation in completing the task of decolonization that has been undertaken in every sphere. This African contribution will have a distinctive character this year because of the new situation that has arisen in our continent as a result of the historic summit conference at Addis Ababa.

116. It should be noted in this connexion that, quite apart from the undermining efforts of the neutral saboteurs of African unity, who are recruited from among the various forces and organizations which lived and prospered only by our division, many persons, States and organizations, though disinterested and sincere, have not, for lack of adequate information, appreciated the full historical and revolutionary significance, the political import and the diplomatic consequences of the meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the independent African States at Addis Ababa in May 1963. That conference, because of its vital decisions, has already altered, and will increasingly alter, all relations between Africa and other States and international institutions.

117. In the resolution of decolonization adopted by the Conference of Addis Ababa, the African Heads of State and Government decided to proclaim 17 September 1963 African Liberation Day. The fact that that date coin-

cided with the opening of the eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly is not fortuitous. Indeed, all the peoples and Governments of Africa consider it to be one of the essential roles of the United Nations to contribute decisively to the efforts of subject peoples to free themselves from foreign domination, and thus to make possible the achievement of the great ideals which gave birth to this Organization dedicated to the creation of a better world from which the spectre of war, poverty and injustice will have been banished forever.

118. Thus, the present struggle of the African peoples for the unconditional and total liberation of their continent figures prominently in the struggle in which the United Nations is itself engaged. That is why our peoples regard the United Nations as their naturally and expect it to assume all its responsibilities with a view to helping them in the final eradication from Africa of colonialism, the main cause of our continent's backwardness in every field. Accordingly, 17 September 1963 was celebrated in all African countries and at United Nations Headquarters with enthusiasm and renewed determination to put an end as early as possible to the shameful colonial system which continues to stain the soil of Africa.

119. On that occasion, the Chief of State of Guinea, President Ahmed Sékou Touré, in an important statement, explained to the world the new African context as it emerged from the Addis Ababa Conference. Whereas formerly, he said, each of the African delegations to the United Nations General Assembly, according to the extent of its personal drive and political awareness, presented the problems of our continent and their solutions individually, in the form of separate proposals, henceforth this will no longer be the case. A divided and antagonistic Africa has now been replaced by a united Africa. A fighting Africa has replaced a passive Africa. Africa knows now that its own rehabilitation, its triumphant march towards a brilliant destiny, depend upon the unity which is the source of progress and upon the transforming efforts of its peoples, and no longer upon the mocking paternalism of the foreign Powers which have brutally dominated and atrociously exploited it.

120. The dynamic decisions unanimously made by the Heads of State and Government of our continent have had profound and far-reaching repercussions throughout the world. The voice of Africa, now aware of its backwardness and determined to control its own unique destiny, has been heard by all. That voice has loudly proclaimed the ardent resolve of the colonized peoples to recover their right to self-determination, to create new and happy conditions of life, and to achieve, by and for themselves, their total emancipation, which will overthrow every form of allegiance and servitude that is still imposed on them.

121. While desiring to set themselves free and to ensure an unfettered development for their civilizations and their economic, social and cultural values, the African peoples are no less determined to work directly towards the creation of a world which will be more humane because it will be more free, more brotherly and more co-operative, a world which will be more prosperous and happy, because it will finally be freed from the causes of war, domination and injustice.

122. It is our conviction that the African delegations, in contrast with the recent past, will deem it their duty not only to speak the same words, but to give their statements the same content—a content which will reflect, despite their distinctive forms of expression and

minor philosophical differences, an identical awareness and a common will to affirm forcefully to the world the personality and the *raison d'être* of Africa within the concert of the United Nations. The African delegations will no longer be defined by their differences, because they are determined to play no longer into the hands of those who would divide Africa and still less to be the subject of the greed and Machiavellian schemes of those who would replace direct colonialism, which our peoples have fought, by disguised forms which entail no less indignity and subjection for our countries.

123. It is heartening to us all that the African delegations will henceforth speak only the language of Africa, that is to say, the language of historical truth, inspired by an acute sense of responsibility and a powerful drive to regenerate Africa and its own personality. Since Addis Ababa, all arbitrary divisions, feelings of superiority and methods aimed at breaking up the human unity of Africa are things of the past. There will be no more talk of Africa north of the Sahara or of Africa south of the Sahara; there will be no more references from this rostrum to the alleged differences of values and abilities of the black and white peoples of Africa. All considerations based on colour are contrary to African ethics and alien to the political thought of our peoples. African civilization, as created by all our peoples, will have a brilliance that will be all the greater as all our nations will strive to perfect it as well as to integrate it closely into the historical values of all mankind.

124. On the agenda items relating to developments in our continent, the statements of the various African delegations will complement each other but the African group as a whole will form a homogeneous, unbreakable front vis-à-vis the representatives of the imperialist Powers in order to express to them, unhesitatingly, our people's firm determination to combat every available means the pleadings of foreign domination and the harmful effects it has had on the body of Africa.

125. The resolutions adopted at the close of the Addis Ababa Conference are of themselves too clear and dynamic for there to be any further misunderstanding about the targets which they set for action by the African States and peoples, as for the attention of all nations of the world. That is why the eighteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly will be "the session of African unity and truth".

126. The Government of the Republic of Guinea wishes to assure all the African delegations that they have its full confidence and support in the diplomatic battle launched with a view to restoring to the African peoples the place they deserve and ensuring the success of the programme of emancipation adopted at Addis Ababa. This programme provides for:

(1) The total and unconditional liberation of all the peoples of Africa, through the abolition of the shameful colonial system in so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, Nyasaland, Rhodesia and so on;

(2) The removal of all foreign military bases from the African continent;

(3) The complete decolonization of the economic, social and cultural structures of the African nations;

(4) The organization and development of an integrated and well-adjusted African economy, through the establishment of an African common market and the co-ordination of plans for equipping and developing the African States;

(5) The renewing of Africa's cultural and moral values;

(6) The establishment, between a non-aligned Africa and all nations of the world, of relations of brotherly co-operation as between equals, founded on friendship and non-interference in domestic affairs.

127. While such a programme, at once dynamic and realistic, has won the unanimous approval of all thinking peoples throughout the world, and the concurrence and active support of all peace-loving and progress-loving nations, it should be pointed out that it has also caused great consternation among the forces of domination and aggression, which had previously regarded Africa as a world apart, an entity consisting of peoples that could be fleeced and exploited unrestrictedly.

128. In fact, since the end of the Conference of Heads of African States and Governments, the imperialist Powers and the neo-colonialist forces have unleashed a vast campaign to sabotage African unity. Gambling on the effects of under-development, these Powers and these forces of evil indiscriminately resort to lies, distortion, hambug and corruption, and even to menace and outrage in the African countries. Every difficulty is heightened by the possibility of direct interference with nations which are not in full and sovereign control of their own affairs.

129. In States whose sovereignty is beyond reach of the neo-colonialists, economic deficiencies and financial difficulties are cynically exploited and aggravated by a campaign of internal subversion, designed to create division and paralysis under cover of which neo-colonialism can step in. The events that have shaken the political and social life of Africa since Addis Ababa have not been spontaneous. All of them fall within the context of the border-line separating legitimate African interests from the illegitimate interests of neo-colonialism. These events eloquently prove that the peace and stability of our States can result neither from the presence of foreign military bases on African soil nor from the words of friendship spoken by the former metropolitan countries, but only, and in the first place, from the militant mobilization and effective unity of the peoples of each one of our nations.

130. Progress in Africa will be the handiwork of the Africans—for progress cannot be imported, nor can it be obtained by begging. On the contrary, it calls for faith and determination in action with a view to transforming the living conditions of peoples and individuals. Its pursuit and intensification, which require from peoples and individuals a constant effort to excel, can be based only on a high sense of mission and on continuous action. In order to develop, Africa must be reborn—a process depending in its turn on the survival of Africa's "communcocratic" spirit and on the development of all its material and moral values, of which none of its nations, taken singly, can be a true embodiment.

131. African unity remains the supreme and, indeed, the only instrument for expediting the emancipation of our peoples. It places at the disposal of each of our States all the means available to Africa as a whole.

132. The main preoccupation of the Government of the Republic of Guinea with regard to decolonization is shared by the thirty-two African countries, all of which realize the vital need for colonialism to disappear, once and for all, from the face of the earth. How, then, could we fail to be concerned at the attitude of the colonial Powers in face of the legitimate impatience and determination of the peoples which they enslave in defiance

of the aspirations of those peoples and of the unanimous opinion of all the African States?

133. As its sole response to these demands for freedom voiced by all Africans, and by way of reaction to the recommendations and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Portuguese Government has chosen to strengthen its repressive apparatus in so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique. It is an open secret that in the first two of these territories war is raging and that the Portuguese Government, without the support it is receiving from its allies, would already have been compelled to yield to the imperatives of decolonization. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Portuguese and other mercenaries are suffering bloody defeats in Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea.

134. The partial control that Portugal continues to exercise over these two territories is crumbling day by day and, unless Portugal heeds the voice of reason, it might well, in its efforts to extricate itself from the colonial quagmire into which it has led its people, plunge its allies—and in consequence a great many nations—into the horrors of a general war in which they would be confronted by all the African States.

135. It must be clearly said to Portugal and to those supporting Portugal that there is only one realistic and objective solution for the problems posed by Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, the Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé and Príncipe—namely, recognition of the right of the peoples of these territories to self-determination and immediate negotiations with the legitimate representatives of those peoples with a view to their being granted complete and unconditional independence.

136. While Portugal's attitude is characterized by arrogance and its behaviour by absurdity, the attitude of the Republic of South Africa borders on insanity. The forms of colonialism which that iniquitous Government enforces in the two territories under its rule—South West Africa and South Africa itself—have aroused universal indignation. There is no need to describe or to condemn apartheid. This has already been abundantly done throughout the world. At the last session of the General Assembly, practical measures were adopted which must be strengthened this year along the lines so clearly indicated in the important report [A/5497] of the Special Committee on the policies of apartheid of the Government of the racist minority in South Africa. Any weakness displayed by our Organization on this issue might result in a catastrophe for Africa and for the world, a catastrophe that Africa for its part is determined at all costs to prevent. That is why the responsibility of all the Member States, and particularly of the major Western Powers, is of such vital importance. For, while all the spokesmen of Member States have recognized the seriousness of the situation in South Africa, there are some who still remain satisfied with purely oral condemnations, thinly disguising the *de facto* collusion and tacit complicity of their Governments with the representatives of the white minority in South Africa.

137. The nations of the world, which are called upon to participate in Africa's struggle for a better condition—a struggle which is inseparable from the noble and universal cause of justice and freedom for all—must choose between Salazar and Verwoerd on the one hand and the African States on the other. From now on, the sincere intentions of each State must be reflected solely in action. Henceforth, Africa will turn its spotlight on

all of them. Taking the offensive, Africa will compel its partners abroad to declare themselves either for or against the equality of peoples, for or against social justice and for or against progress.

138. British colonialism, though tottering, still tries desperately to cling to a few shreds of the former British Empire. One of the principal ones is Southern Rhodesia, in regard to which the British leaders have shown that they are resolved to depart from the policy of decolonization practised by them elsewhere. Although our concern in this instance is as keen as in the case of the Portuguese and the South African colonies, we do not wish to despair of the spirit of understanding of the United Kingdom Government, which we trust, for its own sake, will be careful not to sacrifice the fruits of its decolonization policy merely in order to satisfy the handful of hot-headed and unreasonable settlers who are oppressing millions of Africans in Southern Rhodesia.

139. Aside from the examples just mentioned, although decolonization in its legal form is now accepted by the overwhelming majority of States, it would be a mistake to think that total decolonization had made comparable headway. It is not enough simply to accept the formal transformation of one legal situation into another which is new and more acceptable. Decolonization necessarily implies the qualitative transformation of all the structures of the former colonial society, in order for them to be adapted to the true circumstances and needs of the country made legally free. Such decolonization at the political, economic, social and cultural levels is a sine qua non for the speedy and harmonious development of the under-developed countries.

140. The liberation and rebirth of Africa impose on us the duty of proclaiming openly that our struggle in this field concerns, not only the African States, but Africans and their descendants wherever they may be. For this reason we pay warm tribute to the present efforts of the American Negroes to free themselves from the racial segregation system of which they are the victims. This intolerable discrimination is but a by-product of colonization, a result of the spoliation suffered by Africa during the many intrusions by European adventurers. The struggle of the American Negroes is part of the general struggle of Africa to secure recognition of the equality of men of every race.

141. It is accordingly appropriate to pay sincere and glowing tribute to the Government of the United States and particularly to President Kennedy for their courageous stand in favour of the American Negro's rehabilitation, and to assure them of our full support in this endeavour, which all Africans appreciate since they are convinced that any attack upon persons of African origin is an attack upon all Africans and upon the dignity of mankind as a whole.

142. One of the fundamental demands of the Addis Ababa Conference, resulting from our renewed will to strengthen the United Nations, was for the decolonization of all existing structures and practices in our Organization.

143. Since 1958, the delegation of the Republic of Guinea has been among those which have continued to insist, here and elsewhere, on the imperative need to adapt the Charter of our Organization to the new facts of international life.

144. After five years of fruitless effort, we must publicly express the painful impression we have gained of what seems to be a clear desire to obstruct, in the

interest of maintaining a status quo which constitutes not merely a source of injustice and iniquity but also the prime factor in the weakening of the United Nations. Owing to the inadequate numerical representation of Africa and Asia at the San Francisco Conference,<sup>1/</sup> the States which, dominating the international scene after the victory over nazism and fascism, had met together in order to organize their regained freedom and to establish, through the institution of a system of justice for all peoples, the conditions for true peace and security for all, sacrificed the freedom of the peoples most needing these things, and the interests of those who had been the greatest sufferers—the colonial peoples. Through alliances and the allocations of spheres of influence, the colonial Powers succeeded to some extent in legalizing their improper presence and usurped privileges, mainly in Africa and Asia. Moreover, they succeeded in involving the United Nations in their colonial adventures, through the Trusteeship System

145. After the adoption in 1960 of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)], which we in Africa and Asia regarded as happily redressing the grave injustices committed against our peoples at San Francisco, we believed—as we continue to believe—that the United Nations must be the first to set the example of decolonization.

146. To this end, all Trust Territories should be liberated, unconditionally and without delay, from the colonial yoke and allowed to enjoy full independence and freedom immediately. The Trusteeship Council, then having no further *raison d'être*, could be put to sleep pending its complete abolition in connexion with the revision of the Charter, which we hope will take place soon.

147. Moreover, since in our view the Declaration on independence has rendered obsolete Chapter XI of the Charter and consequently the transmission of information on colonial territories, all United Nations bodies operating in this field should be purely and simply done away with. This applies in particular to the special Committee on Information from Non-Governing Territories, which during the eighteenth session we should decide to dissolve on the ground that it no longer has any valid terms of reference.

148. On the other hand, the Committee dealing with decolonization should be given adequate and sufficiently precise powers, together with the requisite means, to complete the work of peaceful decolonization carried out under the auspices of the United Nations. The Fourth Committee, with its original mandate then discharged, could be converted into a special committee on international co-operation for the benefit of the under-developed countries.

149. But one of the shortcomings which most claimed the attention of the Heads of African States was the unjust and inadequate representation of Africa in the main organs of the United Nations. The present position of the Asian and African countries in the Organization leads to the bitter conclusion that our countries, although they have been admitted as Members, have not been accepted. It seems that the first occupants are closing their ranks in order to confine our participation to debates in the General Assembly.

<sup>1/</sup> United Nations Conference on International Organization, held at San Francisco from 25 April to 26 June 1945.

150. We must say, clearly and unequivocally, that we shall no longer tolerate this state of affairs. Africa, for its part, decided at Addis Ababa to meet all its obligations under the Charter—including its financial obligations—but also to claim all its rights without restriction. It henceforth rejects the role of speechifier which some seek to reserve for it in the General Assembly, and is determined, by its specific and effective presence in the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and all the other United Nations organs, to participate in the fruitful and creative life of our Organization. It intends to make its contribution to all initiatives and to take part in the formulation and proper implementation of all decisions.

151. This can be achieved by two means, which, far from conflicting with each other, are in our view necessarily interrelated and complementary. One is the revision or amendment of the Charter; the other, redistribution of existing or subsequently established seats.

152. Up to now, the two great ideological families that preceded us in the United Nations have, by their behaviour, rendered both of these means inoperative. Thus the socialist countries have always enthusiastically supported the redistribution of seats while opposing any increase in the number of seats through revision or amendment of the Charter, whereas the Western countries as a whole oppose any redistribution and favour the revision or amendment of the Charter. The result of this situation is that the African and Asian States find themselves either without specific representation or with a representation so meagre as to constitute a violation of the Charter and a veritable insult to their dignity.

153. This is why we for our part say that the most sustained efforts must be made to secure the revision of the Charter in order that this basic instrument of international life may be adapted to the new requirements of our times. If these efforts failed to produce positive results by next year, all Heads of State and Government of Members of the Organization should, on the occasion of the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, be invited to attend the regular session of the General Assembly in 1965 with a view to the revision of the Charter.

154. In the meantime, however, we shall propose during the current session an amendment to the Charter dealing with the composition of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council to the end that all geographical areas in the world, and more particularly the African and Asian continents may be adequately represented in those two organs. Such representation is for us the normal, logical and necessary consequence of our independence and admission to membership in the United Nations. In this connexion, may I say to the socialist countries that their position in this matter merits reconsideration and readjustment, since it conflicts with the support hitherto given for the independence of all colonized countries and may needlessly damage the good relations with the socialist countries that the nations of Africa and Asia wish to maintain and strengthen.

155. How could we willingly accept a situation in which the reparation of the injustices committed by others against the Chinese people since 1950—injustices which we have always denounced—is regarded as a prerequisite for the reparation of the grave injustices which for centuries have been meted out to the African peoples? The just representation which we claim for the African and Asian countries and the restoration to the People's

Republic of China of its legitimate rights are two different questions which should not be linked together; and the leaders in Peking have, for their part, had the wisdom and foresight never to establish such a link.

156. To conclude on this point, we earnestly appeal once more to the socialist countries and particularly our friend the Government of the USSR, which have already done so much on behalf of decolonization, not to oppose the method which can in practice ensure equitable representation for the African and Asian States—the immediate amendment of the provisions of the Charter which relate to the composition of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

157. So far as the Western and Latin American countries are concerned—the latter being our allies in the anti-colonialist struggle—we say to them: whatever may be the result of our efforts regarding the revision or amendment of the Charter, it is essential to proceed to the equitable redistribution of all existing seats or of seats subsequently to be created. The London "gentlemen's agreement" of 1946, prepared at a time when Africa had only three Member States, obviously cannot be treated as sacrosanct without there being a violation—intolerable in our view—of the United Nations Charter. Since 1946, the number of Member States has more than doubled; it has risen from fifty-one to 111, the bulk of the new Members coming from the continents of Africa and Asia as a result of the collapse of the colonial empires.

158. Our two continents account in themselves for more than half of the total membership of the United Nations. If the provisions of the Charter were correctly applied and elementary justice observed, Africa and Asia should receive at least half of the non-permanent seats in the Security Council, and half of the total number of seats in the Economic and Social Council. Under the London "gentlemen's agreement", no seat whatsoever was reserved for Africa, either in the Security Council or in the Economic and Social Council. If Africa is represented symbolically in these two organs as a result of arrangements which obviously cannot satisfy either our thirst for justice or the requirements of our dignity, the situation demands of these States that are well provided for a measure of understanding which is the best safeguard of their own interests. Europe, not satisfied with three permanent seats in the Security Council, also holds two non-permanent seats; whereas Africa, a continent forgotten by the diplomats of San Francisco, has no permanent seat and could slip in only under cover of the Commonwealth and the Middle East, to obtain in the Council, temporarily, two bracket-seats.

159. In the Economic and Social Council the situation is even more scandalous. The thirty-two African States, accounting for nearly one third of the Organization's membership, hold only two seats out of eighteen.

160. One has merely to remember that at least three-quarters of the activities of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council are concerned directly or indirectly with the development of the African continent, in order to realize the paradoxical nature of Africa's present representation in these two bodies. For us this situation, in this context, raises considerations not only of honour and dignity, but also of vital interests which must be safeguarded if our continent and its people are to develop harmoniously. Our Western and Latin American friends should understand this and permit, without reservations, the amicable redis-

tribution, as from this eighteenth session, of the seats now existing or to be created.

161. The African States will make specific proposals in the competent Committees with regard both to Charter revision and to the redistribution of existing seats on a strictly geographic basis. Moreover, in doing so they will not fail to point out the anomaly of denying any specific representation to the African continent while, contrary to the provisions of the Charter, establishing special representation for certain political groups such as the British Commonwealth.

162. We shall demand, in accordance with the Charter, that representation be established on a purely geographic—that is to say, continental—basis, convinced as we are that our brothers in Africa and Asia who are members of the Commonwealth fully share our ideas and feelings and prefer to secure representation for themselves within their respective continents rather than through bodies whose principles and objectives cannot fully satisfy the basic aspirations of our peoples.

163. Lastly, we wish to state here and now that, when the Charter is revised, Africa in its turn will demand that, like all the other continents, it be given a permanent seat on the Security Council. It will also demand that the concept of "great Power", as formulated in 1945, be revised.

164. In the same context, we cannot but stress the immense harm done to our Organization by maintenance of the paradoxical fiction that the island of Formosa is a great Power having specific responsibilities with regard to the preservation of international peace and security. Intentions and fictions have never made history. For this reason the Republic of Guinea has constantly urged, ever since its appearance on the international scene, the restoration to the Government of the People's Republic of China of its legitimate membership. It would be doing justice simultaneously to the Chinese people, to the Asian continent and above all to the international community to associate in our debates, undertakings and decisions the largest State in the world, which in itself includes more than one quarter of the world's population.

165. Without the People's Republic of China, it is impossible to find a satisfactory solution for a number of serious problems disturbing the world; so much so that the great Western Powers—the United States, the United Kingdom and France—had to secure the participation of the Peking Government in the settlement of the serious crises of Indo-China and Laos. Such realism, which we welcomed at the time and which made it possible to halt fratricidal hostilities and save Asia from immense disasters, should impel all the States Members of our Organization—whatever their sympathies or antipathies—to arrange for the Government of the People's Republic of China to be seated among us; otherwise it will not be possible to solve such problems as disarmament, which has been the subject of so many eloquent speeches made in this building and elsewhere.

166. For the United Nations, the absence of the People's Republic of China is so grave and damaging a mutilation that we should all bury our prejudices, put aside any sentimental considerations and decide, before it is too late, to rid ourselves of all pretences and to bring the People's Republic of China among us in order that it may share our burdens and responsibilities in the building of a better and more equitable world, a world freed from the fear of war.

167. We can assure you that, in accepting among us the People's Republic of China, no state could make sacrifices greater than those made by the African States, which have suffered and continue to suffer when they see beside them the representatives of the executioners of their peoples—the spokesman for Portuguese colonialism and the representative of the nazism imposed through fire and sword in South Africa by the racist and war-mongering minority.

168. Another requirement stemming from the Addis Ababa Conference is that our Organization should reappraise, with a view to their adaptation to the new situation of Africa, the structures, functioning and practical methods of international co-operation in the economic, social and cultural fields. The programmes planned and organized for the benefit of individual African States should be increasingly replaced by regional programmes covering several States that have the same geographic characteristics and similar, or complementary economic resources to develop.

169. The arbitrary, fanciful and sometimes microscopic nature of the random subdivision of territories effected through the conquests of the European Powers, which we have been led to regard as peace-time boundaries serving as a basis for our task of reconstructing our continent on reasonable and viable principles, in fact prevents any real economic development. Only within the framework of broader units can international co-operation for the benefit of Africa yield all the fruits that we have a right to expect from this vital aspect of our Organization's activities.

170. In this context of international co-operation to be reappraised and readapted to the requirements of our era, we are happy to welcome most sincerely the initiative of the United Nations in planning a world Conference on Trade and Development for 1964. We hope that on this occasion all the participants will make a real effort to renounce mercantilist practices and scandalous privileges, with a view to laying the essential foundations for a system of justice and stability in international trade. That, in any event, is the only way to bridge the widening gap which so dangerously separates the highly developed countries from the developing countries. The latter are compelled today to content themselves with the charity offered them by the former in the guise of aid and assistance, often representing an insignificant fraction of the amounts wrongfully extracted from them through the inequitable trade system in force today.

171. For the peoples of Africa and Asia the success of the Conference on Trade and Development will, we hope, make it possible to feed adequately and raise the level of living of millions of human beings who today lead lives of poverty. Such success would, in our view, be of much greater help in maintaining and strengthening world peace than the displays of luxury taking place in the countries which are well provided for and sometimes seem to forget the misery and suffering surrounding them.

172. If we have been impelled to concentrate our statement upon the question of decolonization, which is fundamental and in our view merits priority, it is because we regard decolonization as the indispensable prerequisite for the achievement of peace through disarmament. It is an essential principle of the Guinean Government never to confuse the assigned purpose of the action of peoples with the means that they may employ, in the light of circumstances and of their economic, social and political condition. The Democra-



tic Party of Guinea has accordingly evolved a theory of action, a political philosophy, which should permit it at all times effectively to serve the enduring interests of the peoples, with a keen sense of its responsibilities in face of the manoeuvres designed to lay hands upon such interests for the exclusive profit of a minority or a bloc. The problem of peace has always received the watchful attention of our people and its Government. Peace, as an essential condition for any economic, social or human development, is regarded by the Republic of Guinea as the supreme good, to the realization of which every thinking people and every progressive party and State have the sacred duty to contribute.

173. Peace is indivisible; for all peoples, without distinction, it is either present or absent. Without universal peace-mindedness, and without peaceful relations in political and economic intercourse between nations, peace cannot prevail over the unjust motives of domination, exploitation and disqualification of peoples. It is in that respect that peace necessarily requires relations of equality and brotherly co-operation between all the nations of the world, in a general atmosphere of true liberty and genuine democracy. Such a militant conception of peace inspires the taking of a stand by each man, each people and all mankind in the fight that they must ceaselessly and ruthlessly carry on against everything making for war, in order to ensure that each and every individual, in a more humanized universe, will have personality, security, well-being and balance. The struggle in which the people of Guinea is engaged, side by side with the other African peoples, for our continent's complete liberation from foreign domination and from the economic, military and cultural enslavement of the African nations is a decisive factor in its contribution to the great cause of world peace.

174. Moreover, the targets set by the Republic of Guinea for the establishment and strengthening of relations of peaceful co-operation with all nations of the world, irrespective of continent, colour or religion, also involve the satisfaction of aspirations common to all peoples in connexion with the advent of a more united, fraternal and more cohesive world.

175. The Guinean people is fundamentally opposed to war, and recognizes no justification whatever for imposing it on a people. The Republic of Guinea condemns war and refuses to choose between total and partial armament, for no human being, given his will to survive, would accept an obligation to choose between quick death and slow death. If life is the supreme good of mankind, then peace, upon which the lives of all men depend, deserves to be defended with resolute and unflagging courage.

176. The Guinean Government supports all Governments which are sincerely working for the coming of a peaceful world, and solemnly declares that peace depends more on the taking of a stand by all men, and on their will to survive and progress, than on diplomatic discussions at the level of the militarily most developed States.

177. The safeguarding of peace is not the task of the great alone; it is the business of all the peoples, which for more than one reason are concerned. Peace is not donated, nor is it invented; it is built and secured in the daily action of developing the economic, social and human values of peoples, and in their action for unity and concrete solidarity.

178. One of the problems that have given the United Nations serious cause for anxiety during the past three

years and involved a potential menace to international peace and security is the problem of the Congo. The present situation of this brother people deserves the attention of all our delegations. We are among those who have always believed and said that the true solution to the problem of the Congo will be the solution achieved through the free choice of the Congolese themselves, in conformity with the true interest of the Congolese people and the dictates of its economic and social development, for the full flowering of its personality.

179. The Guinean Government, like all other African Governments, support the Congolese Government's request for a six-month extension of the presence of the United Nations forces in the Congo. This well-considered support takes account of the Congo's determination to make every possible effort to ensure through its own resources, or better still within the framework of the Organization of African Unity, the necessary defence and security of that country, not only for its own sake but for the sake of all Africa and for that of peace.

180. It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the more or less prolonged presence of United Nations forces in the Congo will solve the problem of the stability, and in itself ensure the security, of the country. There are political causes for the evils from which the Congo has suffered and is still suffering. Only a political solution, therefore, taking account of the aspirations and the interests of all strata of society, of all political and trade-union movements, can ensure stability and prosperity for the Congo. We do not doubt that our Congolese brothers, fully understanding this fact, will create those political conditions. In such a programme, the Congolese Government can rely on the full support of the Guinean Government.

181. While all the speakers heard during this general debate have expressed their Government's satisfaction at the relaxation of tension between the great Powers, the delegation of the Republic of Guinea, for its part, would like to state once again its conviction that, while a genuine "détente" is an essential factor for the building of peace, "détente" would not be genuine if it were limited to relations between the "super-great".

182. Africa has not yet achieved the "détente" it has always desired—that which will be produced by putting an end to the enslavement of a large number of our peoples, and to the disqualification to which they are subjected. The genuine "détente" which we earnestly desire must take account of that evident truth. We hope that all the nations working for peace will, in order to spare us the impression that we have been the victims of a bogus "détente", give us practical help in freeing ourselves from the current or potential wars engendered by the colonial system.

183. The Heads of African States and Governments meeting at Addis Ababa formally called upon the allies of the colonial Powers to choose between their friendship for the African peoples and their support for the Powers now oppressing those peoples. The peoples of Africa were astounded by the attitude of those allies in the Security Council during the recent debates on Portuguese colonialism, the policies of apartheid and the situation in Southern Rhodesia. It is the duty of an anxious Africa to ask the Government of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and France, from this rostrum, whether that is their reply to the appeal of Addis Ababa.

184. We believe that all the Powers sincerely desiring an international "détente" and the achievement of universal peace will make a clear choice in favour of the oppressed peoples. That is the necessary condition for a genuine "détente", with which Africa will associate itself unreservedly in order that all its creative potentialities, thus liberated, may contribute fully to the building and perfecting of the world envisaged by the Charter of the United Nations.

185. We have made a point of telling you openly of our anxieties and our profound aspirations: a united will to transform the nature of African society, an effective

contribution by Africa to the life of the world, and unrestricted co-operation with all States for the building of a world of justice, freedom, progress and peace.

186. Such is the programme which, on behalf of the people of Guinea and as part of the concerted action of the independent States of Africa, we have the honour to submit for your examination and appraisal.

187. The PRESIDENT: Before concluding the meeting, I would remind it that, as announced in the Assembly last Thursday [1217th meeting], the list of speakers for the general debate will be closed at 6 p.m. today.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*